THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN: STORY AND PICTURES . . . PP. 6-7

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
15 cents
VOL. 10, NO. 52 NEW YORK, OCTOBER 13, 1958

FRANCE SAID 'YES' WHEN IT REALLY MEANT 'MAYBE'
The Fourth Republic, fumbling, confused and full of contradictions, died last week and Gen. de Gaulle (above) took over as Emperor Charles of the Fifth. The big question was: What will republican France, which cherishes its traditions of freedom, do when these rights are invaded, as they surely will be? For an analysis of the "magic" of de Gaulle, see Anne Bauer's story below.

TRUCE OR EXPLOSION?

Behind Quemoy crisis: Key issue is Taiwan and a unified China

By Kumar Goshal

IN A BRIEF and unequivocal message last week, the Chinese People's Republic pin-pointed the core of the Taiwan Strait conflict: U.S. armed intervention in the Chinese civil war in an attempt to prevent the successful conclusion of China's complete liberation from foreign domination. The message was a reply to Secy. Dulles' offer to thin out Chiang Kai-shek's forces on Quemoy if Peking ordered a cease-fire.

Dulles and President Eisenhower had been insisting that Quemoy had become essential to "the defense of Taiwan" since, with their approval, Chiang had poured a third of his forces onto the island. But at his Sept. 30 press conference Dulles said Chiang was "foolish" to have put such large forces there, and "if there were a cease-fire in the area . . . it would not be wise to keep them there."

On Oct. 6, in a message to "all compatriots, military and civilian, in Taiwan, Penghu (Pescadores), Quemoy and Matsu," Peking's Defense Minister Marshal Peng Teh-huai said it was "a farce to talk about a cease-fire when there is no fire" and "there is no war between the Chinese People's Republic and the U.S." However, he ordered a one-week suspension of the bombardment of Quemoy and said Chiang "will be free to ship in supplies on condition that there be no American escort."

TWO ISSUES: Peng said there were really two issues involved in the Taiwan conflict. The first he listed as "U.S. invasion and occupation" of Taiwan and other islands, and said "this should be settled through negotiations between the two countries, which are now being held in Warsaw." He offered a way out by saying that Americans had no business in the West Pacific and that "the quicker they go the better, because in this way they can have the initiative."

He listed the second as the civil war which has been "going on for 30 years and is not yet stopped." Peng noted agreement on both sides that "there is only one China," of which Taiwan and other islands are a part. He repeated Premier Chou En-lai's earlier suggestion that, to end the civil war, "talks be held

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WHY FRANCE VOTED AS IT DID

The meaning of de Gaulle

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

CONTINENTAL France's 80% Yes vote in the Sept. 28 plebiscite was cast not for a program (there is none), and not for the text of a new Constitution, but for a man. It was a triumph of blind, mystical faith and a defeat for critical reason.

The extent of that triumph and that defeat is in these figures: At the last legislative election, on Jan. 2, 1956, the Communist Party alone obtained 25% of the votes. The overall Left and Center Left vote then totalled 56%.

Why this seemingly inexplicable shifting of votes?

Operation Plebiscite has been above all Operation Mystification. The technique is not new, but it has never been carried to such perfection. With firm control of the radio, with most of the press at its disposal, and with millions from big business, the new administration's means were practically unlimited. In the weeks before the vote, the country was flooded with confusion touched up with noble words and lofty phrases.

'DESTINY': "Oui a la France," read the big posters that covered the walls the length and breadth of the country. "Greatness of France", "Historic Achievements," "Unity of Purpose," said the reporters and commentators. The government program? Unity and efficiency! Neither was spelled out. The new Constitution? Only the opposition groups took the trouble to analyze it. De Gaulle himself, whose immense pride is matched only by his disdain for mankind, said in his final election appeal that the issue in the plebiscite was not really so much the Constitution but "the Destiny of France."

Because de Gaulle offered no clear, un-

(Continued on Page 10)

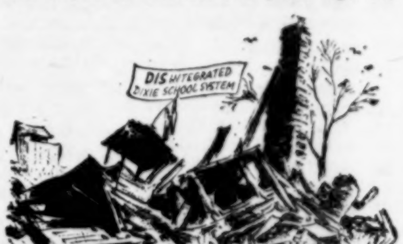
JIMCROW TALKS WITH DYNAMITE

School crisis sharpens as die-hards defy courts

THE SEGREGATIONIST South last week had the help of dynamiters to "win" a battle which its lawyers seemed destined to lose. Faced with the prospect of a successful court attack on the closing down of public schools in Arkansas and Virginia, the dynamiters blew up the high school in Clinton, Tenn., to keep Negro and white students from studying together.

The triple-blast destroyed 16 of 22 classrooms and sent officials scurrying to improvise facilities for 850 white and ten Negro students. Gov. Frank G. Clement called the dynamiting a "cowardly act" and offered a $5,000 reward for anyone locating the criminals. The FBI promised to investigate. But observers recalled that officials had not yet uncovered the bombers who demolished the Hattie Cotton Grammar School in Nashville when a lone Negro child entered the first grade in September, 1957.

THE BITTER-ENDERS: When integration began at Clinton two years ago the state militia was called out to put down mob violence instigated by John Kasper, the widely-traveled Camden, N.J., white supremacist. Recently released from a year's imprisonment for violating a Federal court injunction not to interfere with integration in Clinton, Kasper was reached by newsmen in Greensboro, N.C. He hailed the blast as "a great victory for the white people of Tennessee" and said he was organizing a political party to promote the expulsion of Jews and Negroes from the U.S.



Lewis in Milwaukee Journal
The monument the Faubuses would build to themselves

Principal W. D. Human looked at the wreckage of his school that would take $300,000 to repair and $800,000 to replace, and expressed his shock: "Everything seemed to be getting along so well in Clinton. I just can't understand it."

What the principal failed to understand was becoming crystal-clear to

(Continued on Page 4)

THE MAIL BAG

Anne Braden best

YORK, PA.

I thought the article on segregation by Anne Braden in the Sept. 29 GUARDIAN was by far the best article I have read in the paper for a long time.

Earl Keihl

Tribute from Lowell

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Anne Braden's discussion of "stature" in her truly inspiring article on the Southern abolitionists brought to mind Lowell's poem to William Lloyd Garrison. Here are some fitting stanzas:

In a small chamber, friendless
and unseen,
Toiled o'er his types one poor,
unlearned young man;
The place was dark,
unfurnitured, and mean;
Yet there the freedom of a
race began . . .

O small beginnings, ye are
great and strong,
Based on a faithful heart and
weariless brain!
Ye build the future fair, ye
conquer wrong,
Ye earn the crown, and wear
it not in vain.

Florence H. Luscomb

Thank you to Folsom

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

I wrote to Governor Folsom of Alabama as follows:

"As one of the many who appealed to you for commutation of Jimmy Wilson's death sentence, I feel obligated to thank you for the mercy you extended to him.

"The citizens of Alabama and of every state are entitled to protection against felonies by imposition of punishment which fits the crime. But so Draconian a law as the mandatory death penalty for robbery per se is a legacy from the Middle Ages and I hope your act of grace may impel the state legislature to wipe this law from the statute books."

I hope the Governor will hear from every one of us who appealed to him.

Muriel I. Symington

An act of grace

LONDON, ENG.

Many months have passed since you responded so nobly to an appeal on behalf of my husband, Tony Ambatielos and his colleagues. You will recall that they are the leaders of the Fedn. of Greek Maritime Unions who were sentenced to death in 1948 at a trial described by Rep. Adam C. Powell as a "kangaroo court." Their sentences were commuted to long terms or life imprisonment after world-wide protests, including those of 35 of our M.P.'s; the then president of the UN Assembly, Dr. Herbert Evatt; and from your country, leading trade unionists, Congressmen and individuals.

The later trial of these Greek democrats in 1952 (for the "crime" of militant leadership of their union and courageous opposition to fascist, monarchist and reactionary Greek governments) was a gross miscarriage of justice as reported by Dr. Royal W. France, the American attorney who attended the trial. The prisons and concentration camps in which they and thousands of others have been starved and tortured have been described by Rev. J. Spencer Kennard, the only American to gain admittance to the camps, as rivaling the Nazi camps in brutality.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Everyone should have something to do in case of national disaster or enemy attack. Assign something to each member of your family today!

—Civil Defense announcement, Radio Station **WPAT**, Patterson, N.J.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: A.Y., New York, N.Y.

In January of this year, my husband and his colleagues submitted their request to the Council of Grace. This is the highest judicial body in Greece with the power to commute sentences. Its views were sent to the Minister of Justice more than two months ago. I have had every reason to be optimistic about the outcome, but this unusual delay of the Minister's decision indicates that it is time again for all people who love justice and democracy to appeal to the Minister for a favorable decision.

Will you please send an appeal to the Minister of Justice, Mr. Kallias, Athens, Greece, by cable if possible. I urge that the appeal mention by name the men under life sentence: Tony Ambatielos, Dimitrios Koliarakas, Dionysios Diakroussis, Panayotis Timoyanakis, Dimitrios Galatis and Vasilis Bekakos.

Betty Ambatielos
23 Hornsey Lane Gardens.

Since this letter was received, Ambatielos has been transferred from his prison cell to the "Island of Death," Youra, in the Agean Sea, the prison the Nazis rejected as unfit for captured Italian soldiers. Friends say Amabatielos cannot survive a winter on Youra. —Editor.

Concrete aid

PROCTOR, MINN.

Sold ten used cement blocks for this dollar. Good luck.

John Filipovich

The Heikkila case

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

The kidnap-deportation of William Heikkila last April raised an international storm of protest, which resulted in his being returned to the U.S. from Finland.

The appeals from Judge Murphy's decisions re the contempt citations against Messrs. Barber and Olson, Immigration Service officials, and the findings of the Court in the Heikkila deportation case, are being challenged in prepared arguments by Lloyd E. McMurray, attorney for Heikkila.

In order to fight this case and, if necessary, appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, a Heikkila Defense Fund has been set up. We appeal to all those supporting the fight for the basic rights of all people to send donations.

Heikkila Defense Fund
W. R. Berke, Treas.
P.O. Box 2751,
San Francisco, Calif.

The 5 Spanish sailors

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

By now GUARDIAN readers know that the case of the five Spanish sailors ended happily for the sailors.

The ruling of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, to the effect that the boys did not desert within the U.S. and that therefore the reciprocal Spain-U.S. treaty of 1902 regarding deserters was not applicable, came as something of a disappointment in that this decision was inconclusive. The questions of asylum in the U.S. for political refugees, and of possible embarrassment to our State Dept. in its cordial relationship with Franco, were thereby evaded.

However, the important result was the release of the boys after 14 months in the U.S. Immigration Service detention camp at Chula Vista, Calif., and their departure for Mexico, where they are now starting to establish themselves in a new way of life.

The officers of the ad hoc Committee to Save the Five Spanish Sailors, which cooperated fully and functioned with the friendly guidance of the ACLU, now announce the dissolution of the Committee and wish to express their gratitude, not only to the GUARDIAN staff, but also to the many sympathetic GUARDIAN readers whose financial and moral support meant so much to the five young men during the long months of waiting.

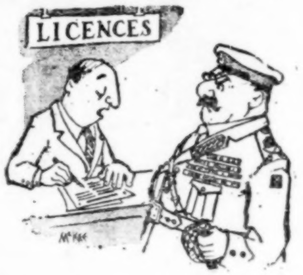
Thomas McGrath

O'Connor's courage

SAFETY HARBOR, FLA.

I enjoyed so much Harvey O'Connor's piece in the Sept. 15 GUARDIAN and salute the courage as well as the brilliance of his defiance of the un-Americans. I can imagine all sorts of legal consequences flowing from his action, all of them good.

Bernard Raymund



London Daily Mirror

"Occupation?"

On being us

SYRACUSE, N.Y.

It is so easy to forget to express appreciation to those nearest to us . . . Anna Louise Strong's Spectator (Sept. 15), which made some readers mad, made a great deal of sense to me. The voice of reason is so needed.

Then your story on the childrens's march to Washington helped so much. You see, the Chicago **Defender** carried the story but gave no address—you did—so that we in Syracuse could attempt to get the facts about it into other peoples hands.

Thank you for being.

Lillian E. Reiner

Nymphet

ALHAMBRA, CALIF.

On the current best-seller list is the novel **Lolita**, by Nabakov The story is about a middle-aged pervert who debauches a 12-year-old girl ("Nymphet.") The screen rights have just been sold for $150,000, plus a percentage. **Saturday Review** termed it "brilliant" and **Time** called it "a major work."

Undoubtedly the film will be called "I Was a Teen-Age Nymphet" or, better yet, "I Was a Pre-Teen Debauchee."

Perhaps this is a new twist to an old allegation: now they're making pictures for 12-year-old minds about 12-year-old bodies.

J. L. Bate

Oh, to be eleven!

BALTIMORE, MD.

I am almost 11 years old. I would like a pen pal who is about my age and is interested in science, stamp collecting and world affairs.

Carl Wood
3002 Kenoak Road

And now she's 76

WINNETKA, ILL.

Last year about this time we sent you a contribution celebrating our friend's 75th birthday. Now we have another year to be grateful for; and of course we could think of no better way of marking the occasion than to send a contribution to the cause nearest and dearest to her heart—and ours.

Long may you both give us reason to celebrate!

"Friends of your friend"

NATIONAL
GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S.A. Possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $5 a year. First class and air mail on request. United Kingdom 35s a year payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 18 Talbot Sq., London W2, England; otherwise $6 a year overseas. GUARDIAN Paris Bureau, 103 Avenue de Gravelle, St. Maurice (Seine), France. Single copies 15c. Reentered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE *Editor-in-Exile*
JOHN T. McMANUS *General Manager*
JAMES ARONSON *Editor*

EDITORIAL STAFF: Elmer Bendiner, Louis E. Burnham, Lawrence Emery, Kumar Goshal, Robert Joyce (Art), Robert E. Light (Production), Tabitha Petran. LIBRARIAN: Jean Norrington. PROMOTION and CIRCULATION: George Evans. ADVERTISING and BUYING SERVICE: Lillian Kolt. GUARDIAN EVENTS: Theodora Peck. FOREIGN BUREAUS: Cedric Belfrage (London), Anne Bauer (Paris), George Wheeler (Prague), Wilfred Burchett (Moscow), Ursula Wassermann (roving correspondent).

Vol. 10, No. 52 401 October 13, 1958

REPORT TO READERS

Volume 10, Number 52

HENRY WALLACE, back in '48, didn't think we had the ghost of a chance. It would take a half million dollars, he said, just to get off the ground with a new paper. We had no money at all—just the unextinguishable idea of an unpretentious newsweekly on the people's side, and a handful of newspaper men and women ready to chuck their jobs to work for it.

So we sounded out the people themselves at the Wallace-Taylor nominating convention in Philadelphia that summer, and the people gave us a vociferous yes, and told us to get going!

Getting going was not so easy. October rolled around and we had raised only $10,000, rather than a half million. But it was enough for a few weeks, go at it, and it was then or never.

VOLUME 1, NUMBER 1, dated Oct. 18, 1948, went out to some 7,500 signed-in-advance boosters and to tens of thousands of other potential subscribers among the people then working with might and main to muster out an expected 10,000,000 votes for peace, freedom and abundance. The Wallace-Taylor campaign had two weeks to run, and it was probably visionary of us to hope that we could move into the campaign so late in the going and collect a sustaining readership. But at least we were adding a hundred thousand or so papers to the cause of Gideon's Army, and that would be its own reward if our GUARDIAN failed to make the grade.

We did not share the let-down when the votes were counted. All we could see were a million Americans going our way, and we set out to make Gideon's Army the GUARDIAN's army. A faith that this was the way has never left us, and though some see today's remnant of Gideon's Army as a lost patrol, we who are closest to it know it to be a living, self-energizing force for the future; and indeed the only national task force of any consequence in our country for all the humane objectives of today.

WHETHER THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY or its branches lived or liquidated, these humane objectives had to be fought for by the left-of-center in our country. It was this job to which the GUARDIAN buckled down—the defense of the peace forces, the winning fight for the lives of the Trenton Six, the hand-to-hand battles with McCarthy, Jenner, Velde and Walter; the struggle for the rights of foreign-born; the ennobling effort to save the Rosenbergs, and since then to free Morton Sobell and expose the atom-spy hoax; the effort to enlist the white North to the side of the Negro people and their embattled allies in the South; and the unceasing task of seeking to bring the American Left together for the good of the nation and the world.

It has been for purposes such as these that the basic core of GUARDIAN readers have kept this paper alive. Had we thought of quitting, at any turn in the last ten years, our readers would not have permitted it. When it has been known that financial burdens might overwhelm us, the readers have rushed to the rescue. And many the period, in the last ten years, that the GUARDIAN staff itself has borne the brunt of low pay or no pay because we could not quit the battles of the moment, for causes too demanding to permit the interjection of a fund appeal.

TIME BLURS THE MEMORY of some of these battles, yet how infinitely tiny was the force which in 1950 stood out against the Korean War, exposed its real origins, demanded its end. Leaders turned coat in that fight; McCarthyism silenced thousands of others. Yet today, against new adventures which are a direct aftermath of that ill-conceived "police action," the good conscience of virtually the whole nation stands opposed. This was a fight a true-blue cordon of the American people never quit. The history of the coming of lasting peace to the world will acknowledge this fact with gratitude.

WE OF THE GUARDIAN, too, are grateful—for the opportunity which has been given us by our readers to stay in business for ten years with a newspaper fighting the toughest battles against sometimes awesome odds.

The fighting years are not over, though conceivably the first ten years are the hardest. They have been hard years, but years of immense satisfactions mingled with the tragic recollections. The next ten years may be harder on a different plane, that of trying to restore a climate in which progress can again take root, a climate in which people may be brought to consider the factors which have brought their present-day world to the brink of economic disaster if not annihilation in nuclear war, a climate in which the American people may decide to build a society of their own—without wars, poverty and race hatred.

These are the years we are now looking forward to—are you with us for a second Big Ten?

—THE GUARDIAN

TAIWAN CRISIS: THE BALANCE OF FORCES IN THE U.S.

The mandate is for peace, but will it be heeded?

By Elmer Bendiner

NO ONE COULD doubt last week that the American people wanted to avoid war over China's offshore islands. Gallup polls, Congressional correspondence, the Vice President's impatience with the reluctant common man, all testified to the popular mandate for peace.

The disconcerting note lay in the history of popular peace mandates. World War I came after a President was elected on a peace platform. Some 80% of the people were opposed to U.S. entrance into World War II after it began in Europe. Nixon admitted that the Korean War would not have received a "yes" vote in a referendum. The people beat no drums for a landing in Lebanon.

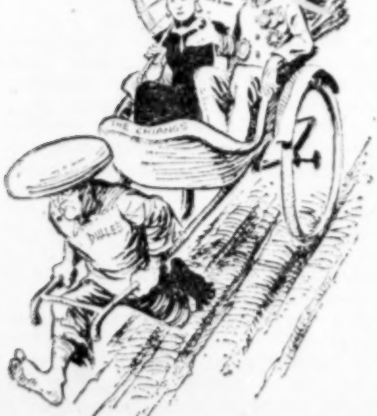
When Washington threatened to promote a global war in Indo-China in 1954, popular dismay did act as a brake though pressure from Britain would have to rate at least an assist in blocking that misstep. In that year the late Robert McCormick of the Chicago **Tribune** called Nixon "a gibbering idiot" when he advocated troop landings. The general outcry then was undoubtedly effective.

VOICES NEEDED: The need for an outcry is even greater now. Chicago columnist Harry Barnard wrote in the Oct. 4 **Nation:** "Though the possibilities of more devastating disaster are infinitely greater, Mr. Dulles has taken us, along with President Eisenhower, even farther out on the limb." Public opinion, he wrote, will "have to find a stronger voice than before" if it is to forestall disaster.

Last week the fateful question was where in the U.S. that voice would come from. Liberal Democrats were taking a stand and some of them were speaking up eloquently but their peace position was as limited—and almost as vulnerable—as the rocky islands of Quemoy and Matsu. Some, like Sen. Theodore Francis Green (D-R.I.), warned of a war at "the wrong time, the wrong place, on issues not of vital concern to our own security and without allies."

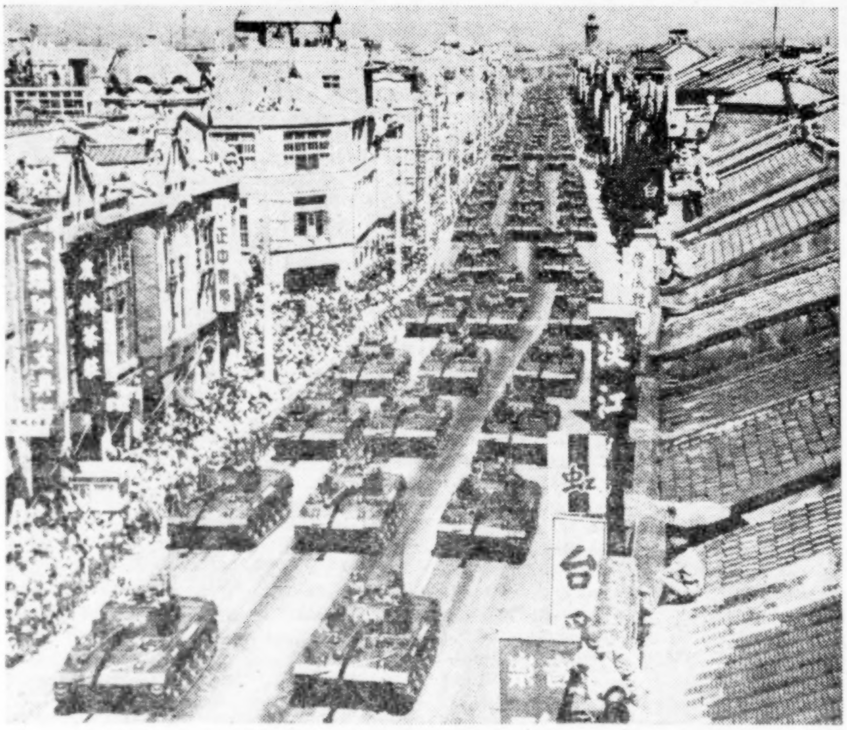
The warning was sharp and effective but it left open the way to a war over what the Senator might designate as the "right" place, Taiwan. None of Dulles' "loyal opposition" dared assert that Chiang Kai-shek's hold on Taiwan was worthy dying for any more than his hold on Quemoy. None dared ask why the Seventh Fleet could not be brought home.

'LEGAL RIGHTS': Even Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.), one of the principal barriers at this particular brink, coupled his denunciation of war moves over Quemoy with a declaration of complete loyalty to the bi-partisan position on Taiwan. He called Chiang's island refuge "freedom's line of defense" and said: "Let there be no misunderstanding about my position as to our legal rights and obligations with respect to Formosa and Pescadores. I think we must defend these areas not only in the interests of our national security, but also in the interests of our allies."



Mauldin in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"And the best part is that he's paying us for the ride."



CHIANG KAI-SHEK FLEXES HIS MUSCLES, MADE IN THE U.S.

American tanks are paraded through Taipei, capital city of Taiwan

That view was shared by former Sen. Lehman, one of the most forceful on the question who nevertheless called Taiwan "a justifiable obligation" of the U.S.; Adlai Stevenson, Mrs. Roosevelt, former Secy. of State Dean Acheson, Sens. Kennedy (D-Mass.), Clark (D-Pa.), Fulbright (D-Ark.), former Ambassador to the Soviet Union George F. Kennan and former Air Secy. Thomas K. Finletter. They all stood against war over Quemoy but were ready to fight over Taiwan only 110 miles further east.

BIPARTISANISM: Though this is an election year and peace makes popular politics, the Democrats were far from united on the issue. Harry S. Truman, perhaps in defense of his own record in Korea, took his stand with Dulles at the brink. Sen. Douglas (D-Ill.), usually ranked among the liberals, made no comment but kept intact his ties to the "Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations." The influential Democratic Advisory Committee took no clear stand but was considering a mild report from its foreign policy sub-committee warning the Chinese that despite the debate in the U.S., Americans would unite "were they to press this country too far." The organizational wheel-horses from Texas, House Speaker Sam Rayburn and Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson, were silent.

Even on the limited but urgent question of war over the offshore islands most Democrats were embarrassed by the record. In 1955, when the Senate was passing the resolution pledging the U.S. to defend Taiwan, Sens. Lehman and Morse sought to strike out the fuzzy language on Quemoy and Matsu that foreshadowed the present position. Only ten other Democrats and one Republican (Langer of North Dakota) joined them. Thirty-two Democrats teamed up with the Republicans to defeat the Lehman amendment.

THE JINGOES: Most of the out-and-out jingoes were in the Republican column out of political necesssity or personal conviction. Kenneth B. Keating, campaigning for the Senate from New York, made the defense of Dulles his theme. He pulled out all the stops: "The Red Chinese government has the blood of American boys on its hands." He said that his Democratic opponent, Frank S. Hogan, had advocated seating Peking in the UN. Hogan denied the compliment vigorously and insisted that he had agreed with Keating all along. Peace and the withdrawal of the U.S. from the brink remained the exclusive property of Corliss Lamont, candidate of the Independent-Socialists.

Even among the Republicans there were the perennial isolationists who, like the Liberals, threw up useful roadblocks on the road to war. Former Congressman Hamilton Fish charged in an angry letter to the N.Y. **Times** that we are "flirting with the Atomic Angel of Death."

The press, like the politicians, ranged from war whoops to modified resistance based, for the most part, on the strategical foolhardiness of defending the islands. The Dallas **News** summed up for the jingoes when it said that the choice to defend the offshore islands was so clear that "only the dullard can fail to perceive it, only the coward refuse to heed it, only the apostate prefer to defy it." Its editorial exhumed the somewhat tattered slogan, "Peace with honor," and said that "it can be won and held in our world of red tooth and claw only by men with arms in their hands they are prepared to use."

'LIMITED RESISTANCE': The N. Y. **Mirror** said that to give up the islands would be "like tossing meatballs at a wolf pack." The N.Y. **World-Telegram and Sun** (Scripps-Howard) had some misgivings but ended by appealing to the Western preoccupation with face: "We can't back down." Most papers rallied the country to the President's side come what may. Some like the Minneapolis **Star** and the N.Y. **Post** balked at the war steps but indicated that in a show-down all resistance would give way to patriotic unity. The Knight and Cowles newspaper chains also took up the limited-resistance stance.

Even the critical commentators like the N.Y. **Times'** James Reston warned that the nation would support "retaliatory action" if the Chinese attacked Taiwan or "our forces in the Strait while they are trying to work out a solution of this crisis there."

Walter Lippmann continued to plead urgently against the war menace but syndicated columnist William S. White lyrically depicted nuclear devastation as "the bright face of danger." One of the few columnists anywhere to go all the way for peace was P. L. Prattis in the Negro weekly, the Pittsburgh **Courier.** He wrote:

"The President has not satisfied me on Formosa. I think we ought to get out of Formosa and out of the Pescadores. I haven't the slightest interest in Quemoy and Matsu and I do not believe their existence, in anybody's hands, threatens my security . . . The Chinese Reds whipped Chiang off the mainland. Formosa is a Chinese possession. Everybody but a sophist admits that. Let the Chinese fight it out. Let us stay out of it."

THE AFL-CIO: The rest of the Negro press was for the most part silent on the crisis, absorbed in developments along the integration front. In the labor movement only the independent unions spoke out forcefully against the Dulles line. The September meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council heard a 45-minute off-the-record briefing from the Secy. of State. The merged federation's president George Meany indicated labor's official viewpoint in a speech to the American Legion's convention. His statement was indistinguishable from that of the Legion's most rabid war-hawks. He said:

"We of American labor salute the American Legion as a great force for arousing and preparing the American people to remain forever free and forever strong . . . Organized labor as represented by the AFL-CIO is keenly conscious of the role our nation must play in present-day affairs. We will do all we can as citizens to keep America militarily and economically strong and powerful enough to continue to lead those nations of the world that are still determined to remain free."

What was left after the oratorical blasts were the persistent voices of pacifist groups, the Sane Nuclear Policy committees, some church organizations like the Methodists for Social Action and the political Left. These had few big names to latch onto and slender resources for a campaign. They had only the assurance that the majority of Americans share their hate and fear of war and the lesson of history: that the millions must be organized before their strength is felt.

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By Louis E. Burnham

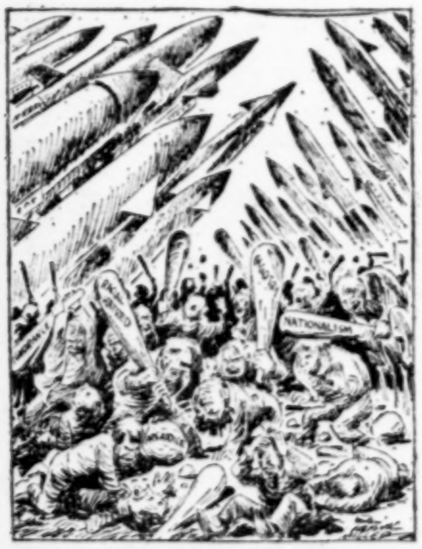
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

UNLESS IT CAN get a lot of help from outside the state, the Arkansas **State Press,** a vital instrument in the battle for integration and democracy in Faubus' never-never land, is going to die soon. Its passing will be a blow progressive Americans can scarcely afford.

When Mr. and Mrs. L. C. Bates set up shop in Little Rock in 1941 and began publishing the **State Press,** no one could be sure what their product would be like. There had been—and still are—some Negro weeklies throughout the South which coast along year after year according to a well-established formula: church and social news, a little gossip, lots of crime, and re-writes of handouts on national developments. They usually don't disturb anybody, least of all the powers-that-be, and the publishers eke out a more-or-less comfortable living on the basis of local ads from white businesses.

NEW APPROACH: The **State Press** might have fallen into this pattern. But not with the Bateses at the helm. There was church, social and school news, to be sure. But gossip was ruled out and the publishers adopted a slashing editorial policy which blistered and bedevilled the enemies of Negro progress. The banner headlines (and there were plenty of them in the 24-page standard-size paper) were reserved, not for petty crime, but for the biggest crime of all: jimcrow.

Two weeks after the first issue of the **State Press** appeared, the U.S. entered World War II and hundreds of thousands of Negro GI's, training in camps throughout the South, were soon the victims of repeated atrocities. The **State Press** took up their cause, condemning alike the state governments which condoned the attacks and the Federal government which failed to protect its soldiers. At the same time it began to blast away at the rotten fruits of segregation on the local scene.



Miller in Des Moines Register

"It's those old-fashioned weapons that are still the most dangerous."

The **State Press** was disturbing somebody, and early in 1942 L. C. Bates got a phone call from the manager of an association of Little Rock business men. He accepted an invitation to visit the gentleman and was told the business executives were willing to guarantee a substantial amount of advertising in every issue of the paper. In fact, the publishers would receive a fat monthly check whether the ads ran or not. There was "only" one little condition: the paper would have to change its tone.

L. C. Bates walked back to his office and answered the proposition with an editorial. "The **State Press,**" he said, "**is published in defense of and as a spokesman for the Arkansas Negro . . . We are not putting the Negro's constitutional rights on a bargaining block.**"

THE REACTION: From that moment on the pressures on the paper have been continuous—and cowardly. One law suit followed another. There were threats of violence and of jail sentences. The segregationists launched boycott movements and harassed distributors. Through all of this the **State Press** survived. It changed its format to a tabloid and reduced its pages to 16. In 17 years the publishers never missed an issue or a payday.

But the Supreme Court in 1954 ruled against segregation in education; and in 1956 the NAACP filed suit for immediate integration of Little Rock schools. Then, according to L. C. Bates, "all hell broke loose." Mrs. Bates was state president of the NAACP and was to win national acclaim as the mentor and constant "guardian" of the nine Negro students at Central High. The **State Press** became the children's champion and a thorn in Faubus' side.

The boycott continued, but now—with the White Citizens Council on the scene—it was more effective. The menace to the jobs and lives of **State Press** distributors, especially in rural areas, became more real. Advertisers who bought space in the paper found their Arkansas sales dropping.

CIRCULATION CUT: As a result, circulation of the **State Press** has fallen from 21,000 to 7,500 in the past year. And 95% of its advertisers (all white and some colored businesses) have canceled their contracts. L. C. Bates was forced to write last May 30: "Due to the successful boycott sponsored by Arkansas segregationists . . . the publishers find themselves faced with a choice of one of two things: give up the fight for constitutional rights or give up the business . . . We still believe that the Negro of Arkansas needs a vocal medium of defense."

The announcement that the **State Press** might suspend publication brought some response from friends around the country. Organizations and individuals took out complimentary ads; some sent contributions. But this help has not yet been enough to reverse the disastrous downward plunge of the paper's fortunes.

The **State Press** needs $10,000 immediately to guarantee continued operation. The Bateses have borrowed to the limit through commercial channels to get out one issue after the next; they have borrowed against their life insurance policies. They have no place to turn to keep the **State Press** alive except to the people, Negro and white, in whose interests they have fought a good fight for democracy for more than 17 years.

THE TENSION: L. C. Bates doesn't scare easily. His dogged determination is relieved by frequent barbs of a wry, but refreshing, Southern wit. There was no banter in his voice, though, when he told the GUARDIAN: "The tension is terrific. The only time we get a good night's sleep is when we have a guard around the house. But that doesn't bother us; we've learned to live with it. But we'd hate to lose the paper."

MRS. L. C. BATES

With Clarence Laws, NAACP field secy.

He said he'd do it all over again if he had to: "I just don't like the idea of color making me subordinate. A man's got to come up with something a whole lot better than color to convince me he's my superior."

Complimentary ads in the **State Press** cost $2.50 a column inch. Contributions, big and small, will be welcomed and acknowledged. And all who contribute will receive a full or partial sub to the **State Press.** The address is 806 W. 9 St., Little Rock, Ark.

School crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

others: the bitter-enders of the segregationist bloc were more defiant than ever and in no way chastened by the Supreme Court's most recent (Sept. 29) affirmation of integration. Some would wreck the Southern school systems, others the schools themselves, to maintain jimcrow.

FLIM-FLAMMERY: Two governors, despite the High Court's sharp reminder that it is their sworn duty to uphold the Constitution, had responded with what amounted to public announcements of their own intention to continue violating it. Arkansas' Orval Faubus declared: "I will never open the public schools as integrated institutions." And in Richmond Gov. J. Lindsay Almond said the same, but added a bit of legalistic flim-flammery for which Virginians are noted among Southerners: "I will never voluntarily yield to that which I am unalterably convinced will destroy our public school system."

With almost 17,000 students locked out of 13 schools which Federal courts have ordered integrated in Arkansas and Virginia, the segregationists were finding it increasingly difficult to place the blame on Washington for their own mismanagement of public education. White students and ministers, in substantial numbers, have all along made it plain they did not condone the school-closings. Their voices were now being joined by the complaints of real estate and business leaders whose primary interests, while hardly educational, are affected by the shut-downs.

THE MONEY COST: In Arlington, Va., just across the Potomac from the nation's capital, a real estate man reported: "There's been a big drop-off in the number of families moving here in the past month or so—they don't want to come to a town whose schools might close down." Arlington's school board is under an order of Federal Judge Albert V. Bryan to admit four Negro pupils to its junior high school in January. O. Glenn Stahl, an official of the U.S. Civil Service Commission and chairman of the Arlington Comimttee to Preserve Public Schools, said: "Anyone with young kids who moved to Arlington now would be a fool."

In Front Royal, Va., the N.Y. Times reported, most whites "would rather admit Negroes than close their only high school to everyone." Nevertheless, the school has been closed by state edict for the past month. Warren County, in which Front Royal is situated, has a population of 17,000 whites and 1,000 Negroes. Prior to a court order requiring integration, there was no high school for Negroes in the county. Negro students traveled 15 miles or more to an adjoining county for classes in a jimcrow school.

The NAACP took legal steps to reopen the Front Royal school, six others in Norfolk and two in Charlottesville when its attorneys went into Federal courts to challenge the state's "massive resistance" laws under which the schools were closed. In Charlottesville some make-shift classes were being held in private basements, but 10,000 Norfolk junior and senior high students remained locked out and idle. Teachers there had said they would not teach in quasi-public "private" schools.

OTHER EXAMPLES: The contention that integration cannot be achieved without violence was further undermined with the announcement that 150 Negro students are currently attending 68 Catholic schools in Virginia. Integration in the state's parochial schools was begun May 10, 1954, a week before the first Supreme Court decision and has proceeded, slowly but without incident, since that time. In addition to the integrated schools, the Catholics maintain some institutions attended by only white or Negro students, but Church spokesmen contend this separation is due to geography, not race.

Where to get teachers, money and facilities for a private lily-white high school system was the big problem confronting the recently-formed Private School Corp. in Little Rock. When the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals enjoined the group from using the public school buildings it had leased from the Little Rock school board, Gov. Faubus declared that "the use of private buildings and private funds is the alternative." After a week of solicitation, however, Dr. T. J. Raney, president of the corporation, declined to disclose how much he had raised toward the $22,000-weekly budget needed to run the high schools. He also did not know where 135 teachers would come from since the public school teachers had said they would not teach in a private system for fear of risking contempt of court proceedings.

THE CHOICE: A small minority of Little Rock's high school students were getting some instruction in classes set up by their churches, and early-morning TV lessons continued. But this could not satisfy the youth or stop the exodus of some to other cities. At the last count, 11% had transferred from the closed schools. Hall High, with 731 students, lost 237 or 31%.

Bruce Bennett, Arkansas State Atty. Gen., announced that he had a solution for the dilemma, a "Southern plan for peace." His scheme was to invoke a number of state laws to shackle the NAACP. This reflected the naive delusion of segregationists that the NAACP's fight for integration does not really represent the wishes of Southern Negroes and that if the organization were only silenced the demand for equality would suddenly cease.

For the nation there was the bigger problem: to drop the illusion that the die-hards would eventually be persuaded by education and patience alone to obey the law. It was clear they must somehow be forced and that the nation, in the words of one observer, faces an immediate choice: "Limited integration or unlimited ignorance for many of our young people, white and Negro."

Powell-Schuman trial postponed again

THE OFT-DELAYED Powell-Schuman sedition trial, set for Oct. 13, has been put off to Jan. 19, 1959, as a result of a government request for a 90-day continuance. In granting the request, however, Judge Louis E. Goodman made it clear this would be the final delay of trial date, which has been postponed six times in the past 2½ years.

Acknowledging the government's need for time to "search out" documents which the defense has subpenaed, Judge Goodman said that "if the government has not got the documents here by Jan. 19, I am going to dismiss the case. I am not going to keep this case here forever."

VINCENT HALLINAN COMMENTS

California: The choice is evil — large or lesser

By Vincent Hallinan

ALL SIGNS indicate that the American people are about to turn around the Republican-Democratic Party garment and wear it the other side out for a while. In California, the GOP is bracing itself for a bad shellacking in November.

Chief recipient will be William Knowland, Republican "Senator from Formosa," whose political sun is about to set. He has been obtuse and inept. In a year inauspicious for Republican ambitions, he forced Gov. Goodwin Knight to relinquish re-election so as to permit him to take over that office as a stepping-stone to the Presidency. His fanatic devotion to Chiang Kai-shek is opposed to the interests of his State which depends for its prosperity on Far East trade. He launched his campaign on the anti-union "Right to Work" issue which has rallied labor to unprecedented activity.

When this craft started to sink he jumped overboard but is clambering back on again, having no place else to go. Meanwhile, he started distribution of a pamphlet authored by Joseph P. Kamp, notorious anti-Semite and fascist. This document is said to disclose Walter Reuther's hopes of taking over the nation with the help of the "labor bosses." I have not seen this production. I doubt its significance. The last time I caught Walter he was taking over the Soviet Union with the assistance of **Collier's** Weekly. The Soviet Union, still not taken over, outlived **Collier's**.

THE DEMOCRATS eagerly seized upon this goof and the pamphlet was swiftly withdrawn when its author's history was disclosed and it was pointed out that it lacked a union label.

The subtle changes which have been taking place in American thought are well illustrated by the picture Knowland is cutting in the California election. With his history of McCarthyism, his involvement with the China Lobby and his anti-unionism, he is as out of place as a dinosaur in the fifth race at Bay Meadows.

His GOP colleagues have consulted the political adage: "When the water reaches the upper deck, follow the rats." All have repudiated the "Right-to-Work" bill. Several have shifted their Party allegiance, one State Senator frankly acknowledging that he had done so because of the preponderance of Democratic registration in his district.

Knowland's opponent, State Atty-Gen. Edmund Gerald Brown, is an innocuous man with decent instincts; e.g.: he publicly urges the abolition of capital punishment. In his childhood he acquired the nick-name "Pat" which he employs in his political advertisements instead of his given name; this has driven Knowland to a similar device: he designates himself "Bill" and even "Billy." Unhappily, a somewhat ponderous appearance and personality does not fit well with this chummy approach.

Brown beat him by more than 600,000 votes in the primary and should better that figure in the general election, ending a GOP domination of the State which has lasted 50 years.

GOODWIN KNIGHT, pushed into the race for Knowland's seat in the U.S. Senate, will probably go down with him. His opponent, Democratic Congressman Clair Engle, is being actively supported by that segment of the Left which believes that the Democratic Party will somehow facilitate the World Revolution.

He could not pass for a liberal in the dusk with the light behind him. He voted for the Taft-Hartley Act and to over-ride Truman's veto of it. He scolded the Young Democrats for asking the withdrawal of troops from Lebanon. The excuse for supporting him is that he opposed the attempt of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. to grab the power franchise in the Central Valley project. This is a false basis. That company is the Black Beast in the section of California from which Engle hails. While denying adequate services itself, it has blocked public power and reclamation. Being against the P.G.&E. in Engle's district is like being against Faubus in Harlem.

A half-pint McCarthy, Congressman Patrick Hillings, is running for Brown's post of Attorney-General. He should be taken without much trouble by his Democratic opponent, Judge Stanley Mosk, a mild liberal, if only by comparison.

It takes 400,000 signatures to put a party on the ballot in California. Hence we have no escape hatch such as the Independent-Socialist Party affords New Yorkers.

Unless a miracle intervenes, the Lesser Evils are odds-on favorites to win—but it's still a rat-race.

INDEPENDENTS ORGANIZE

Political action group formed in Bay Area

Special to the Guardian

SAN FRANCISCO

SWELTERING THROUGH San Francisco's hottest days of the year, some 250 people met at 150 Golden Gate Av. Sept. 27-28 in response to a call to a Northern California Independent Action Unity Conference.

Vincent Hallinan, one-time Presidential candidate on the Independent Progressive Party ticket, stressed the need for unity among all socialist-minded and progressive people in the U.S.

"This country," Hallinan said, "is rapidly approaching an economic and political crisis. A tremendous inflation is on the way, especially hitting the middle class. Two paths are presented to the American people—the path of socialism or the path of fascism."

Dr. Holland Roberts, educator, took as his theme the word "independent." Those who had gathered for the conference, he felt, wished to be independent of the two old parties, of warmongers, absentee Presidents, Dixiecrats and Big Business.

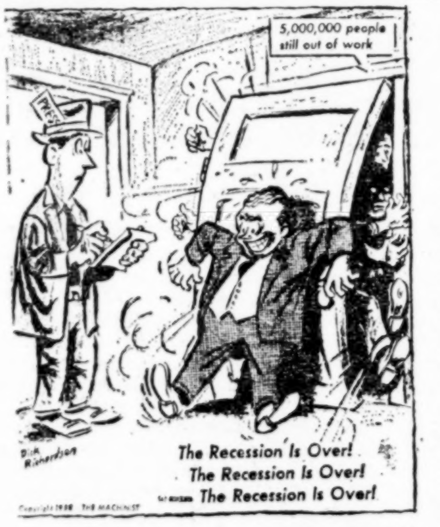
Dr. Roberts, differing from Hallinan, was not convinced the time was ripe for a socialist party. He said such a move would isolate this group from the great mass of progressive Americans.

INDEPENDENTS WIN: Around these two viewpoints—a socialist unity group vs. an independent political action committee—most of the debate centered.

Five resolutions on organizational form had been submitted: (1) "For Socialist Electoral Unity"; (2) "For an Independent Political Action Committee"; (3) "For an Independent Socialist Party"; (4) "For an Independent Progressive Political Party"; (5) "For a New Democratic Party."

In the final vote Resolution No. 2 won —86 in favor, 54 against, and became the official organizational form.

Those speaking for Resolution No. 2 stressed that (1) the Left is already isolated; (2) it cannot break out of isolation by an organization only of people who favor socialism; (3) it should not exclude itself from working with people not in favor of socialism; (4) problems of working people, farmers, minority groups are of an immediate nature and their solving cannot wait on their acceptance of socialism.



The Machinist

ALTERNATIVE NEEDED: Proponents of the socialist organizational form called for an end to ambiguity and camouflage. They argued that efforts to lead workers step by step towards an unstated goal had proved ineffectual in the past; that these methods buried the radical movement and offered no alternative to capitalism.

From among some 30 other resolutions dealing with public affairs, the conference approved a selection expressing itself for peace and abolition of nuclear weapons, for full civil liberties and rights, including a stand against the death penalty; for labor's objectives with special reference to defeat of California's Right-to-Work proposal.

A general Bay Area Council will undertake to organize and direct the Independent Political Action Committee and draft a constitution for adoption by its members.

N.Y. STATE BALLOT FIGHT

Independent-Socialists accuse DeSapio of stalling to avoid a defeat in court

THE INDEPENDENT-SOCIALIST statewide campaign committee in New York has charged Carmine DeSapio, N.Y. Secy. of State and leader of New York's powerful Tammany Democratic organization, with delaying a decision on challenges to the Independent-Socialist nominating petitions in order to tie up the new party's campaign for Governor, U.S. Senator and other statewide offices.

The challenges, entered by lawyers for the state Democratic organization, now involve only three of the state's 62 counties In each of the three, challengers claim the new party failed to collect the legal minimum of 50 valid signatures. In two of the counties, where the new party needs a total of only seven signatures in addition to those already ruled valid, the challenges rest on alleged clerical "alterations" on petition forms in which witnesses had written the word "same" instead of repeating a previously-given home address. A total of 80 signatures in the two counties are tied up by such challenges. In the third county, petition signers challenged for giving insufficient addresses have been shown to have signed legally, exactly as they registered.

OR SHOW CAUSE WHY: A De Sapio deputy, Bernard Nova, has had the challenges and the new party's rebuttals before him since Sept. 29. By the time of the Independent-Socialists' first campaign rally in New York City Oct. 7 Nova had failed to rule. Meanwhile De Sapio had been reversed by a Supreme Court justice on his effort to quash a court order directing him to certify the I-S candidates or show legal cause why he should not do so.

At the Oct. 7 rally John T. McManus, I-S candidate for Governor, charged De Sapio with delaying a decision on the challenges to stave off a setback in the courts and meanwhile to encourage public belief that the new party had been ruled off the ballot. He charged that De Sapio's moves sought to nullify a clear mandate from 27,000 New York voters who signed petitions to place the new party on the ballot. Only 11,000 votes separated the Republican and Democratic candidates for governor in the 1954 election, won by Averell Harriman over Republican Sen. Irving Ives.

LAMONT PROPOSAL: The Oct. 7 rally brought the Independent-Socialist candidates together to a public platform for the first time in the campaign. Corliss Lamont, candidate for U. S. Senator, attacked his Republican and Democratic opponents for failure to take a stand against bi-partisan brink-of-war moves in the Middle East and in the China Seas; and for their failure to declare for full civil rights and liberties.

On the civil rights front, Lamont proposed that the Federal government move in and operate public schools closed by states such as Arkansas and Virginia in defiance of the Supreme Court's recently-reaffirmed decision ending school segregation. Lamont said the Federal government should operate the schools unless and until the states agree to run them on a non-segregated basis.

Radio-TV listing for I-S candidates

HERE IS THE SCHEDULE of radio and TV appearances of New York's Independent-Socialist candidates as arranged thus far:

MON. Oct. 13, 1 p.m.: Scott K. Gray Jr., candidate for Attorney-General; "Fannie Hurst Showcase," WNEW-TV, Channel 5.

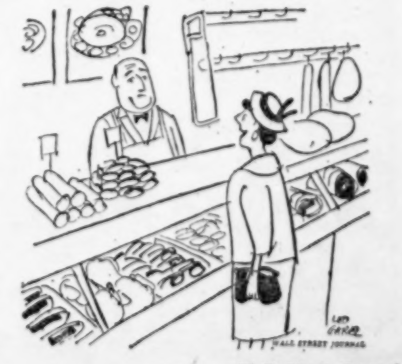
WED. Oct. 15, 11:15 p.m.: Corliss Lamont, candidate for U.S. Senator; Tex & Jinx Show, WOR-Radio, 710 kc.

SAT. Oct. 18, 1:30-2:30 p.m.: Corliss Lamont and opposing senatorial candidates interviewed by the League of Women Voters; "Meet Your Candidates," WCBS-TV, Channel 2.

SUN. Oct. 19, 5-5:30 p.m.: John T. McManus, candidate for Governor, interview; WOR-Radio, 710 kc.

SAT. Oct. 25, 1:30-2:30 p.m.: John T. McManus and opposing gubernatorial candidates, interviewed by the League of Women Voters; "Meet Your Candidates," WCBS-TV, Channel 2.

In addition, WNEW-Radio, 1130 kc., on its "People's Choice" program, 9:35-10 p.m. nightly, will broadcast statements by Lamont vs. other senatorial candidates on Oct. 19-20-21-22-24; and McManus statements Oct. 26-27-28-30 and Nov. 2.



Wall Street Journal

"I want something to impress my husband's boss. What is your very cheapest cut?"

The first ten years of the Guardian

THE FIRST GUARDIAN DECADE opened with a whoop and a shout in the singingest convention ever held. The guitar-strumming, placard-waving, cheering delegates to the founding convention of the Progressive Party in Philadelphia started their campaign with the preview issue, then called the "National Gazette."

In that preview the late diplomatic-military analyst Max Werner told the nation there would be no war over Berlin; Labor M.P. Konni Zilliacus from London wrote why the British would not go to war; Louis Adamic sized up the PP convention; Anna Louise Strong warned that Chiang Kai-shek was threatening to embroil the U.S. in World War III; Johannes Steel reported on an exclusive interview with George Bernard Shaw; John Lardner told why Joe Louis would not fight again and James Dugan gave his recipe for putting together a completely automatic Thomas Dewey.

Franklin D. Roosevelt was only three years dead then and the cold war had just begun to chill the world. The editorial in Vol. 1 No. 1 of the GUARDIAN, October 18, 1948, stated the paper's purpose: To give "the inheritors of Franklin D. Roosevelt's America an uninterrupted flow of facts to fight with in the continuing battle for a better world."

THE FLOW OF FACTS began in a torrent in that first issue. Henry Wallace, who had been pelted with eggs by the same types who last week blew up the high school in Clinton, Tenn., wrote his story of that tour: "The Egg and Us." He said he found many Southerners who "in their hearts were with us" but who took no action to halt the egg-throwers. He added: "I pray that Americans will not succumb first to apathy and then to what Mark Twain has called the 'conscience-soothing falsities' of the war makers. The deceptions which other men may seek to practice upon us are powerless unless we also deceive ourselves into silence. And self-deception, in this atomic age, leads not to the comfort of illusion but to annihilation."

Dr. Guy Emery Shipler wrote in that opening issue on the question: "Should the Church go back where it came from?" Novelist Norman Mailer pleaded for resistance to fascism and war. John T. McManus analyzed Al Capp's celebrated Schmoo. The GUARDIAN's news columns forecast the problems of the ensuing decade as the paper made its first sassy-serious appraisals: Truman and Dewey "tried hard to disagree last week—and, by and large, they failed." Hartley, of Taft-Hartley, had cited 40 labor leaders for contempt: "Hartley has their names. They have Hartley's number."

1948—A NEW PARTY IS BORN: The late Vito Marcantonio (l.) clasps hands with Henry A. Wallace, Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party.

ON THE CENTER SPREAD of Vol. 1, No. 2, Oct. 25, 1948, a banner head asked: IS THERE A SCOTTSBORO CASE IN TRENTON, N.J.? It broke the story of the Trenton Six and spread it across the world. Week in and week out the GUARDIAN crusaded against the frame-up until, on June 20, 1951, page one of the GUARDIAN ran this head: VICTORY! 4 OF TRENTON 6 FREE.

It was the first of a series of crusades against terror: the Groveland massacre, Willie McGee, Rosa Lee Ingram, the Martinsville Seven. For each the GUARDIAN raised a rallying cry of protest. Sometimes the response from readers helped win partial victories: a death sentence commuted, as in the recent case of Jimmy Wilson; sometimes the fight was lost, yet always worth the fighting.

The Rosenbergs were in the death cell when the GUARDIAN woke the world to a question more fateful than the one it asked at the start of the Trenton case. On Aug. 15, 1951, the GUARDIAN asked: IS THIS THE DREYFUS CASE OF COLD WAR AMERICA? Thereafter it hammered away at exposing the lie behind the framing and the killing of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and the imprisonment of Morton Sobell. In time, in Asia, Africa and Europe, heads of government and the Pope raised their voices. The GUARDIAN reported, exposed, uncovered fresh evidence, appealed, argued, analyzed—until the Rosenbergs were put to death, not quietly, but in the blaze of almost universal indignation.

IN THE EARLY FIFTIES the Smith Act cast a broad shadow over the country and the GUARDIAN voiced the sentiment of Rep. Vito Marcantonio that the defense of the Communists was the first line in the defense of the nation's liberties. The GUARDIAN charted the fever course of the Smith Act and McCarthyism, reported the resistance, then noted the wave receding. It covered the terror by disclosing the facts but it added its share of passion and wit, as when it made the New Year's prediction that the House Un-American Activities Committee would find documents showing that Alger Hiss shot Lincoln.

When the Korean War broke the GUARDIAN opposed and exposed it from the moment it began. On June 28, 1950, the GUARDIAN reported: "Cold war turned to hot along the 38th parallel . . ." Thereafter the GUARDIAN carried exclusives on the U.S. prisoners of war in Korea, often giving their families the first news that their sons and brothers were alive. The paper suffered reprisals. For its stand on the war, on the deportation of the foreign born, and on the Smith Act, its editors were called before McCarthy. Editor Cedric Belfrage was sent to exile in England, advertisers and readers were intimidated. The GUARDIAN survived the war and McCarthy.

PEACE IN THE ATOMIC AGE was a crusade for the GUARDIAN since its first year when it ran a statement by Frederic Joliot-Curie under the headline: ALL RIGHT, SAM, DROP THE GUN. It chronicled the scientific revolution from Hiroshima to the Sputnik, supporting every move to limit or outlaw nuclear warfare and nuclear testing. Scientist Phillip Morrison and others wrote on the threat and promise of our age.

The ten years of Big Labor were analyzed at the start when, on Nov. 29, 1948, the GUARDIAN warned of the CIO's crackdown on the independence of its affiliates and its then ripening passion for respectability. The GUARDIAN predicted: "Labor is to enter the firm." Thereafter the paper covered the fateful

1949-1951—THE TRENTON SIX: In our second issue we asked: A new Scottsboro Case in the making? The question began the fight that saved six lives.

1950-1953—THE KOREAN WAR: The GUARDIAN from the beginning opposed "the most senseless war in our history." It took 142,000 casualties to prove it.

New York World-Telegram
The Sun
MAKE H-BOMB, BARUCH URGES
U.S. Plane
McMahon Hints Plan Is in Mill
BEAT
H-B
TO

1950—THE FIGHT TO BAN THE BOMB: We have since our first issue printed every piece of news we could find on the campaign to outlaw nuclear insanity.

Cleveland CIO convention which expelled the dissidents. It also voiced the hopes but warned of the dangers in the AFL-CIO merger. The decade saw labor piece itself together in a superficial unity while expelling most of its militancy along with the militants.

The GUARDIAN noted the up-down-up swing of the economy, and labor's reactions; the complacency on top and the worry underneath. It recorded few great gains for labor but celebrated what there was: a sugar strike in Hawaii, the triumphs of longshoremen, east and west.

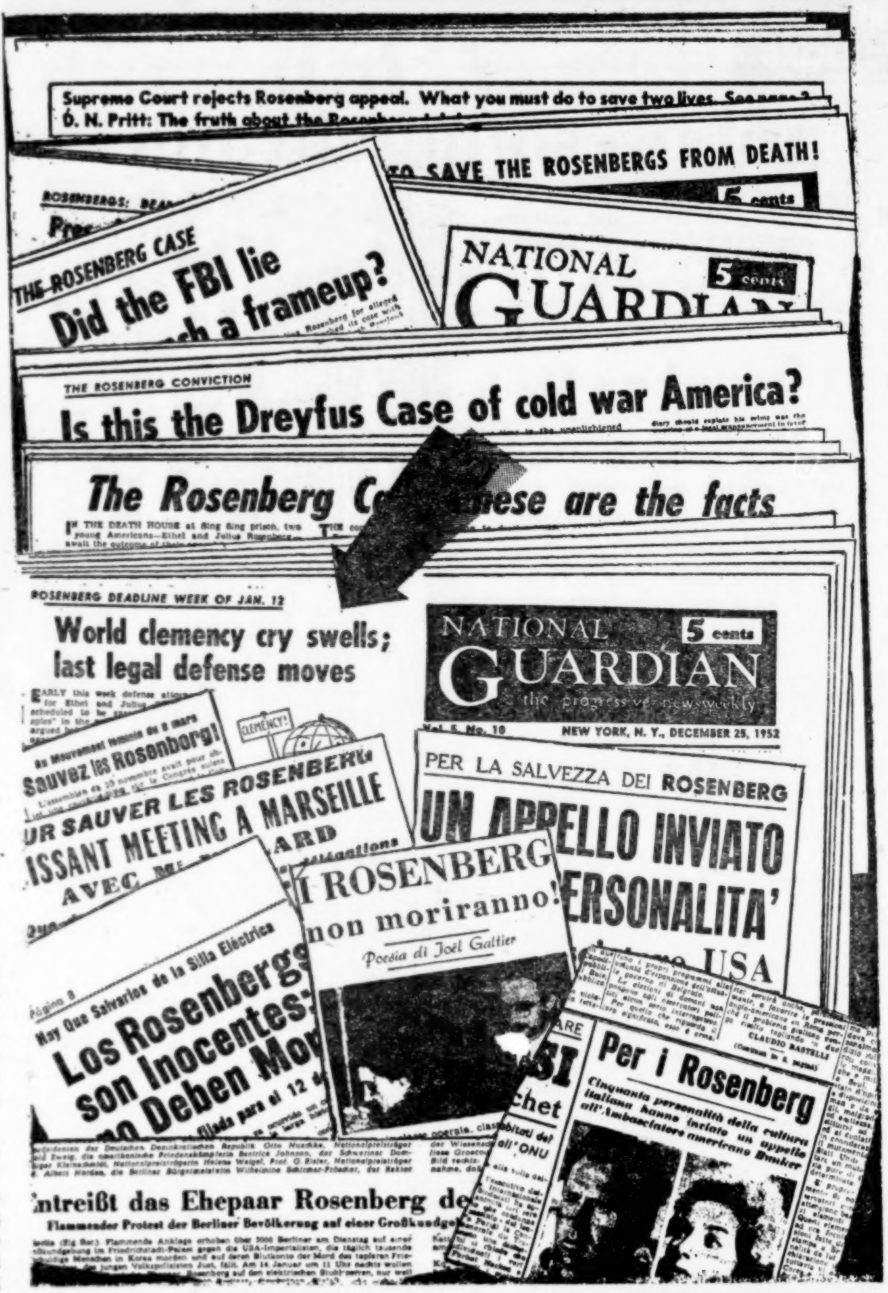
THE GUARDIAN WAS INJECTED with a strong taste for independent political action at its birth. The fight for it colored the decade.

Long after Henry Wallace retired, the GUARDIAN backed men and women who kept to the path of independence and away from the "same old merry-go-round" rejected at the Philadelphia convention. Vito Marcantonio appeared in the GUARDIAN and had its support until the day he died of a heart attack on a rain-swept street corner in August, 1954. When the PP was no longer effective, there was the American Labor Party and the Independent Progressive Party and when they vanished there came the Independent-Socialist Party in New York State and the beginnings of other movements elsewhere. Always the GUARDIAN's policy has been to support any move that will rally the independent souls who find no home and no future in the political machines.

It was a decade of war jitters and revolutionary hopes and the GUARDIAN datelines told the story: Peking and the rise of China to world power status; Cairo and the Suez crisis; Baghdad and the birth of a new republic. Warsaw and Gomulka; Budapest and Nagy; Guatemala and Dulles' putsch; Bandung and the ex-colonial world. Moscow, Berlin, London, Paris, Buenos Aires, Ankara, Accra—in all of them GUARDIAN reporters told the world history of the decade.

THE TEN YEARS summed up in the GUARDIAN do not make a history of dates and facts alone. Along with the reporting there is a certain passion, best described by Heywood Broun. When trying to rouse resistance to the judicial murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, he called on Americans "to beat against tight minds with our fists and shout a word into the ears of the old men."

The GUARDIAN staff last week got ready cheerfully to keep on beating and shouting until the minds opened and the ears wiggled. And then some.



Supreme Court rejects Rosenberg appeal. What you must do to save two lives.

TO SAVE THE ROSENBERGS FROM DEATH!

THE ROSENBERG CASE

Did the FBI lie ... a frameup?

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 5 cents

THE ROSENBERG CONVICTION

Is this the Dreyfus Case of cold war America?

The Rosenberg C... ...ese are the facts

ROSENBERG DEADLINE WEEK OF JAN. 12

World clemency cry swells; last legal defense moves

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 5 cents
the progressive newsweekly
Vol. 5, No. 10 NEW YORK, N. Y., DECEMBER 25, 1952

Sauvez les Rosenberg!

...UR SAUVER LES ROSENBERG
...ISSANT MEETING A MARSEILLE

PER LA SALVEZZA DEI ROSENBERG

UN APPELLO INVIATO ...ERSONALITA' ... USA

I ROSENBERG non moriranno!
Poesia di Joël Galtier

Hay Que Salvarlos de la Silla Eléctrica

Los Rosenbergs son Inocentes: ...no Deben Mo...

Per i Rosenberg
Cinquanta personalità della cultura italiana hanno inviato un appello all'Ambasciatore americano Bunker

...ntreißt das Ehepaar Rosenberg de...
Flammender Protest der Berliner Bevölkerung auf einer Großkundgebung

1951-1953—THE ROSENBERG CASE: We fired a shot heard 'round the world. A mother and father died rather than betray their faith in humanity, but the world has never been the same since. And as long as Morton Sobell remains in prison as a living symbol of justice miscarried, the GUARDIAN will never cease to seek his freedom and to vindicate the memory of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

1951—SMITH ACT AND WITCH-HUNT: We said the first line of defense of civil liberties is the defense of the Communist leaders. History bore that out.

1955—THE BANDUNG CONFERENCE: In our pages Anna Louise Strong called this parley of Afro-Asian nations a significant turning point in world history.

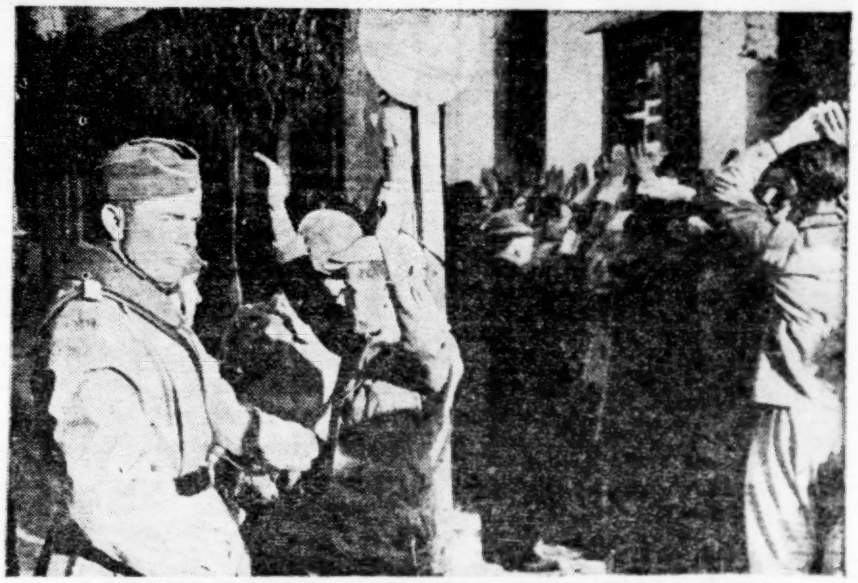
BOOKS

An awesome chronicle of the Warsaw Ghetto

NOTES FROM THE WARSAW GHETTO* is one man's contribution to the chilling and awesome day-by-day chronicle kept by a dedicated group who, before the Wall went up and afterward, understood the importance of recording the events of Jewish life in Poland under the Nazis.

In a time when there is so much talk about letting bygones be bygones, about forgiveness of Hitler's crimes and re-admitting Adenauer's Germany to the family of nations, the publication of the **Notes** is like a stir of conscience.

The Ghetto archives, painstakingly buried in milk cans, were dug up out of the rubble of the razed city-within-a-city several years after the liberation. Part were found and published in 1946, another part in 1950. The organization responsible for them had called itself the Oneg Sabbath—the jolly Sabbath group. Its initiator and guiding spirit was a young social historian and teacher, Emmanuel Ringelblum.



A GESTAPO ROUNDUP OF VICTIMS IN THE WARSAW GHETTO
From the buried Ghetto archives comes a day-by-day account

The **Notes From the Warsaw Ghetto** are Ringelblum's personal share in the larger work. Written largely in the form of letters to help avoid identification, they begin three months after the fall of the city, in January, 1940, during the first bitter winter. We read of the first discriminatory decrees, of rumors and counter-rumors, still only half-believed, about forced mass evictions to a slum behind barbed wire and eight-foot walls; and finally the rumors becoming fact, and a "free society of slaves," cut off from the rest of the city, existing at the mercy of the sub-human supermen—degraded, tortured, hungry, sick, but with a will to live, a slowly-growing will to resistance beyond our own peace-time understanding.

RINGELBLUM was in Geneva when the war started, a delegate to a World Zionist Congress. He might have stayed abroad, but his sense of responsibility ruled out such a choice. He went home feeling that was where he belonged.

After lasting through the entire Ghetto experience, after surviving so very long, he was finally caught together with 37 others who shared a hide-out. The others tried to bribe guards and save him. But on March 7, 1944, Emmanuel Ringelblum was taken out and shot, together with his wife and 12-year-old son Yuri, on the rubble where even the Wall no longer stood.

"Though we are condemned to die," he writes long before that time, "we have not lost our human face." Some did. The **Notes** have many references to man's inhumanity to man, unfortunately not confined to the Master Race alone. There were many shameful pages in the story of occupied Warsaw. Anti-Semitism among the Poles themselves, deep and always present, exploded to new proportions. Equally shameful was the behavior of some of the wealthy Jews themselves who toadied and sold out and informed in the hope of saving their own skins. An especially black page is reserved for the Jewish police.

YET THE SUM TOTAL of human dignity far outweighs the ugliness. One is grateful and proud to read of men and women who somehow remained unbroken in the face of certainties and uncertainties that drove many mad. There is even room for typical Warsaw humor. When streetcars with the yellow Star of David appear in the streets, Ringelblum says: "At last the Jews of Warsaw have achieved cars of their own. . . . Christians are forbidden to ride with us." And he goes on to tell of Poles who try to climb aboard with the indignant comment, "I am no anti-Semite!" In a later entry he writes: "If the war were to last as long as the Jews can hold out, that would be bad, because the Jews can hold out longer than the war can last."

The evidence piles up. There is a single paragraph on the mass funeral of babies from an orphanage. The surviving older children sent a wreath: "To the Children Who Have Died from Hunger—From the Children Who Are Hungry. . . ." And later on: "Children are no longer afraid of death. . . . In one courtyard they played the game of 'Tickle the Corpse' with a real corpse."

Which of the entries hit the reader hardest is probably an individual matter: so much is concentrated here, and the normal mind rebels at having to take it all in. For one whose roots were once in Warsaw, there is a special fascination in reading about once-familiar landmarks. And constantly there is the fear—which is also partly hope—that on turning the page one will come upon the name of an old friend, a relative whose ultimate end must otherwise remain unknown . . .

THE ENTRIES become painful beyond bearing, yet one continues reading to the end. "Martyrdom in His name was never the principle of our history . . . " says the next-to-the last entry. The final one, dated Dec. 14, 1942, discusses the techniques of building effective hide-outs. By then such building had become a skill, but only the rich could afford to pay for it. It was still four months to the uprising of which Ringelblum was one of the organizers and leaders.

In January of the following year the Polish Government-In-Exile in London agreed to smuggle out of the country the three surviving leaders of the Ghetto uprising, Ringelblum among them. All three, however, refused to leave. "We must fulfill our duty to society . . ." And Ringelblum wrote one final paper, not included in this volume. It dealt with the rich underground intellectual life of the Warsaw Ghetto. That was on March 1, 1944. Before the paper could even be smuggled out, Emmanuel Ringelblum was captured and shot. We are told he shares a collective grave with his bunker-mates.

We can only be humbly grateful for the testament he leaves the world. The translator, Jacob Sloan, should be commended for giving us these **Notes** in translation. And finally, the publishers deserve commendation for making the book available to the American public.

—**Jean Karsavina**

**NOTES FROM THE WARSAW GHETTO, by Emmanuel Ringelblum. Edited and translated by Jacob Sloan. McGraw-Hill, 330 W. 42nd St., New York City. 370 pp., $5.95.*

WELCOMED EVERYWHERE

Peace Caravan gets big response in European tour

This summer Dora (formerly Mrs. Bertrand) Russell of London, president of the Permanent Intl. Committee of Mothers, participated in a Women's Caravan of Peace which visited 16 European countries in a three-month trek, sometimes camping out to save hotel bills. Nineteen women in all took part in the Caravan, 11 of them going the entire distance. Their ages ranged from 21 to 79 years. The expedition was financed by the participants and by small contributions from supporters in Britain, Canada, Australia and the U.S. In a report on the tour, excerpts from which follow, Dora Russell described its success as "phenomenal":

DURING THE ENTIRE three months, there was not one day when we were not speaking, or meeting people, or traveling, and we were never more than three nights at most in one place. In Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, Italy, as well as in the Balkan and Eastern countries, committees of women gave us hospitality in hotels or private homes, or found us inexpensive lodging in hostels or halls.

Mayors and municipal councillors received us in such towns as Duisburg, Dortmund, Frankfurt and Wiesbaden in West Germany. Evenings were taken up with meetings.

The same story was repeated in Italy, where again in Turin, Milan, Bologna, Verona, Trieste, we were given important official support.

When we came to the Balkan countries and also Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, our welcome became overwhelming. In every town and village the people thronged the streets, waited hours for us to arrive, and stretched welcome banners across the road.

WE ENTERED ALBANIA at a frontier point where we were not expected. But the whole town turned out to greet us, prepared rooms and a meal within the hour. And when we woke in the morning the reception committee was there, having traveled all night over appalling mountain roads to fetch us. At the Bulgarian frontier—a remote spot—a banner was stretched across the frontier barrier with the words "Welcome, fighters for peace." Two thousand women waited in Sofia for our arrival, in Bucharest we spoke to 7,000 in a great open air theatre.

Crossing the frontiers became a symbolic ceremony, when the women of one country would hand over the "beloved Caravan" to the care of their next-door neighbors. Then the flag of one country would solemnly be replaced, next to our Union Jack, on our car, by the flag of the next one.

In Czechoslovakia the windows of shops and houses and even the trees along the road bore placards welcoming the Caravan. In Hungary people waited all night and we spoke at two in the morning. In Poland thousands of telegrams and phone calls came from all over the country asking for a visit from us. It seemed as though it meant a tremendous amount to all of these people, that a group of women should have traveled so many thousands of miles from the West to bring them messages of friendship.

Our Caravan, from being a small group of women setting out in some trepidation, counted some hundreds of thousands of participants and supporters before the end of its long trek.

WOMEN OF ALL LANDS WANT PEACE

Six of the participants in this summer's Women's Caravan of Peace rest beside the road somewhere in Rumania. During a three-month trip they visited 16 countries in Europe, sometimes camping out to save expenses. They called their long trek a phenomenal success.

CONFERENCE REVEALS CONTRADICTIONS

British Labor Party leaders still veer toward cold war

By Gordon Schaffer
Special to the Guardian

SCARBOROUGH, ENGLAND

THE MOMENT OF TRUTH for Britain's Labor movement came at the annual conference at Scarborough last week when Desmond Donnelly, an M.P. who was a member of the Left Wing until he switched over to support the rearmament of Western Germany, said: "We are arming to expand social services and also to be a leading nuclear military power. We can't do everything at once." And then, amid angry protest from the delegates, he added that for him the first priority was expenditure for arms.

Donnelly's remark came during the debate on a series of resolutions on domestic policy demanding far-reaching improvements in health, education, housing and other services; but it could have been made with equal force during the discussion on foreign affairs. Donnelly was more honest than leaders like Hugh Gaitskell, who will be Prime Minister if a Labor majority is returned at the next election, or George Brown, who will be Minister of Defense. They backed a party statement of foreign policy overwhelmingly endorsed by the conference which, if put into operation by a Labor government, could bring great changes in the international situation. But in response to questions by delegates, they not only backed the cold war alliances, but also rejected the principles of co-existence, which alone offer an alternative.

THE CONTRADICTIONS: The foreign policy document supports the principle of a nuclear-free zone in Europe; calls for China to take her proper place in the UN, and demands settlement of oil imperialism. The leaders, who had previously given behind-the-scenes support to the Macmillan plan for Cyprus, came out clearly for self determination for the Cypriot people.

However, a nuclear-free zone in Europe cannot be achieved if NATO continues in its present form. The Baghdad pact is incompatible with a new policy in the Middle East, and recognition of China's position in the world cannot be reconciled with support for a military alliance in which Chiang Kai-shek is a mainstay.

Gaitskell was stung into his moment of truth when he said that if Britain stopped making the H bomb, she would be "sheltering behind the American bombs." And when a delegate shouted "Get out of NATO," he retorted with bitter anger: "For us, the second greatest country in the alliance, to leave NATO would be disastrous to the peace of the world." Then he spoke of his fear of the U.S. adopting an isolationist policy, which would leave Britain to face "Soviet pressure and aggression." Brown talked of the "deterrent" of the H bomb in much the same terms as Tory Defense Minister Duncan Sandys.

BLACKPOOL IN 1945: The majority of the delegates left no doubt where their sympathies lay by their warm applause for Emrys Hughes, M.P., who said that Britain had more common ground with Khrushchev than with Dulles; to Konni Zilliacus, M.P., who said: "We shall not improve our electoral prospects, by chasing undecided voters with H bombs; and to Harold Davies, M.P., who said with sarcasm that everything was lovely except for the sheep and cows on the Welsh mountains receiving doses of strontium 90 as the result of the tests.

The atmosphere in this conference was very like that at Blackpool in 1945 when the same pre-election atmosphere dominated the discussions and the delegates accepted everything put forward by the leaders in the name of unity. At Blackpool they even voted the late Ernest Bevin a free hand to formulate the party's foreign policy on the basis of a demagogic speech he had just delivered. History has recorded the result.

PEOPLE ARE ALERT: But there are important differences between Scarborough 1958 and Blackpool 1945. The rank and file, not only in the Labor Party but throughout the whole population, are alert to the dangers to the peace as they have never been before. The nation-wide campaign for British abandonment of the bomb was defeated when put as a resolution in opposition to the leadership at Scarborough, but it is still a growing force. Moreover, on Suez, Lebanon and Jordan and Quemoy, the Party leaders have been forced by pressure from the rank and file and by the progressive members of the Labor Party Executive to come out in open opposition to aggression.

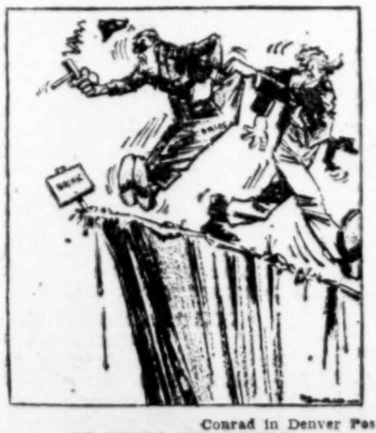
Gaitskell's denunciation of U.S. policy over Quemoy has committed the Labor movement to resist any moves that could lead Britain to war. But again he refused to carry his own arguments to their logical conclusion by demanding the evacuation of U.S. forces from Taiwan.

The announcement on the very day of the foreign affairs debate by the chief of the U.S. Strategic Air Command that British aircraft would drop the first bombs if war broke out, jerked a lot of delegates out of their complacency.

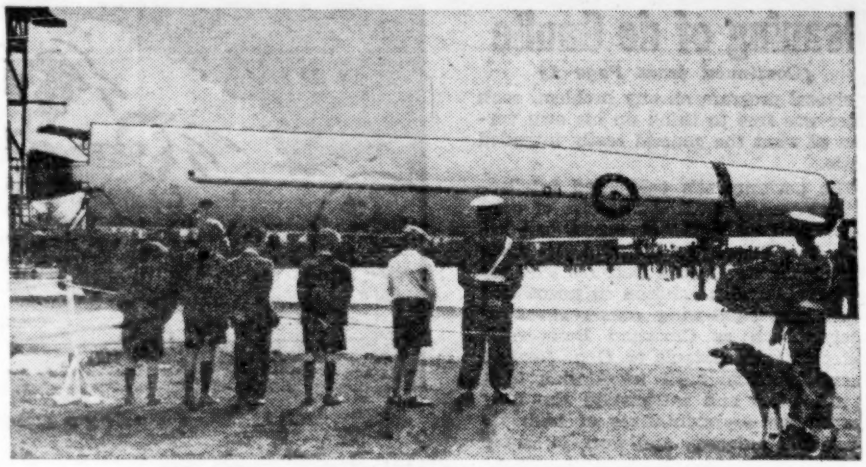
ISSUES AT HOME: On the domestic side, the clash was between the leaders, who talk of trying to get improved social conditions by improving the existing system, and a vocal minority pressing for the Party's former policy of public ownership as a basis for socialist planning. The narrow majority in favor of retaining the "public schools" in the educational system was symbolic. The term "public school" is one of our national jokes. They are, in fact, schools with fees higher than an ordinary family has to live on, which over the generations, have ensured the best and really influential jobs for the ruling class.

During the coming months, as the general election comes closer, appeals for unity in the Labor movement will be the main theme, but the struggle to impose a genuine foreign policy of peace and friendship will go on.

Aneurin Bevan, who is scheduled to be Labor's Foreign Secretary, remains the enigma. His friends say he goes as far as his right-wing colleagues allow him to go, but would like to go much further, and that he is waiting for more pressure from below. Maybe they are right. But one thing is certain, the election which will probably take place in the spring is by no means a sure victory for Labor. It could be sure if the Party came out with a policy of peace—not only in words but in deeds.



Conrad in Denver Post
"I SHALL RETURN!"



THE FIRST 'THOR' MISSILE ARRIVES IN ENGLAND
Some Labor leaders have not learned: If you shoot a missile into the air, another will fall in Berkeley Square.

The Quemoy crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

to effect a peaceful settlement" of this "internal Chinese matter between you and us."

To Peking the heart of the matter is the restoration of a unified China, including Taiwan and the other islands. Washington in the past has acknowledged that Taiwan is a part of China.

BROKEN PROMISES: The Cairo and Potsdam declarations of 1943 and 1945 promised that Taiwan and other Chinese islands would be restored to China after Japan's defeat. In 1947 Taiwan was declared to be one of the 35 provinces of China. But in 1949, after Chiang fled to Taiwan, the China lobby, backed by Gen. MacArthur, former President Hoover and Sen. Knowland pressured the Truman Administration to hold on to Taiwan under Chiang.

On Jan. 5, 1950, President Truman said the U. S. "will not pursue a course which will lead to involvement in the civil conflict in China." The same day Secy. of State Dean Acheson, elaborating on Truman's statement, said that, as "honorable and decent people," Americans would abide by the wartime Allied commitments regarding Taiwan, and would not "quibble on any lawyer's words" about the island's status being unsettled for lack of a treaty with Japan.

But the pressure continued. Dulles and the Chiefs of Staff returned from a conference in Japan with a report strongly urging U. S. intervention in favor of Chiang. Then the Korean war erupted a few days later. Truman sent the Seventh Fleet to Taiwan Strait.

CHANGES MADE: By the time Dulles became Secy. of State in 1953 (he had been Acheson's adviser for three years) the old experienced "China hands" had been eased out of the State Dept. Dulles took in the pro-Chiang Walter Robertson as Asst. Secy. of State for Far Eastern Affairs. Robertson, who blamed the U. S. "for the loss of China to the Communists," remains convinced today that the Peking government is a passing phenomenon and that Chiang is the symbol of China. He has dedicated himself to do "everything to resist the power and influence of Communist China, because I believe to do otherwise is to build up the enemy."

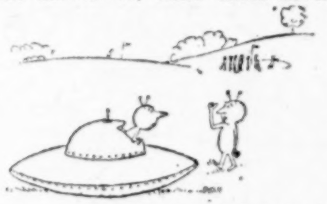
During the five years since he became Secy. of State, Dulles has built up U.S. might on Taiwan, spread the myth of the instability of the Peking regime, and organized anti-Peking military alliances in the Far East. By the time of his Sept. 30 press conference, however, all but the heavy concentration of U. S. forces in the Taiwan Strait seemed to be dissolving into thin air.

At that press conference, Dulles indicated he thought it was tactically advisable to soft-pedal his anti-Peking, pro-Chiang policy. Besides facing almost universal opposition to his policy abroad, he was encountering mounting opposition at home. According to the Boston Daily Globe, on Sept. 26, at an off-the-record conference at Cambridge, he "underwent severely critical questioning by some of Harvard's top foreign policy experts." His critics wanted to know what we were doing in Quemoy and "how do we get out of this mess."

NEW TUNE? The first hint of a tactical change came on Sept. 29, when Under-Secy. of State Christian Herter called Chiang's "fixed devotion" to Quemoy "almost pathological," and said that the offshore islands "are not strategically defensible to the defense of Taiwan." Then came Dulles' apparent change of tune, dutifully endorsed the next day by the President.

It would be dangerous to accept Dulles' new look at its face value. There were indications that he was playing for time. On Oct. 2, Vice President Nixon said that Dulles has only suggested reducing Chiang's forces on Quemoy if Peking agreed to a cease-fire, but under no circumstances would "the islands be turned over to the Chinese Communist government."

The Quemoy crisis was far from being over; Chiang seems to have given Dulles an opportunity to withdraw his offer by rejecting Peking's invitation to a negotiated settlement. Since the basic issues of retiring Chiang and restoring Taiwan to China and UN recognition of Peking remain unresolved, other crises hovered on the horizon. And on the crucial question of the status of Taiwan, very few voices except those of the Asian-Africans were raised in favor of the only just solution.



IRE Student Quarterly
"One of them says he IS their leader."

BLUFF CALLED: With the exception of **I. F. Stone's Weekly,** no other liberal publication nor columnist nor political leader has declared forthrightly that Taiwan is part of China. Most others have gone on record that the U.S. must fight for Taiwan; some have had the grace to suggest for the island at least a UN trusteeship or a plebiscite. All these suggestions have dangerous implications.

In any fight over Taiwan, the U.S. will antagonize all Asian-Africans and will have little or no support from its Western allies. UN trusteeship or a plebiscite will also be opposed by most Asian-Africans as setting an unwelcome precedent which might affect the future of such territories as Kashmir and West Irian, both of which are legally part of and strategically vital to India and Indonesia, respectively.

The "two Chinas" theory is no solution to the Taiwan Strait problem. Peace can be restored in that area only by accepting the fact of the Chinese revolution and placing no impediments in the path of its fulfillment. By ordering a truce on Quemoy, Peking not only called Dulles' cease-fire bluff but offered the U.S. a way for a gradual withdrawal from the Strait with minimum loss of face.

Meaning of de Gaulle

(Continued from Page 1)

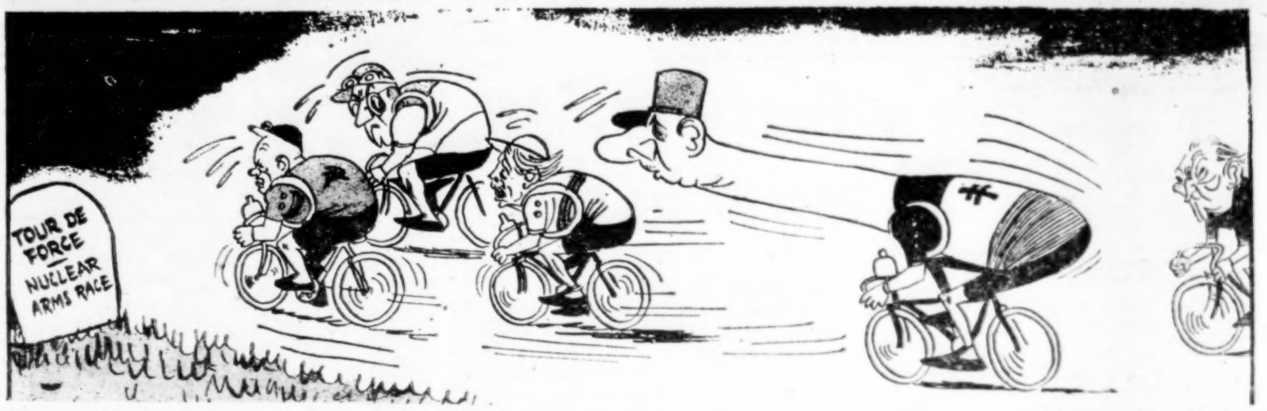
equivocal program on any problem, each voter was free to think up his own version of what the general really intended to do.

The government's calculated intellectual dishonesty worked miracles of confusion and made the strangest bed-fellows. The Yes-sayers included Socialists like SP deputy Gaston Defferre who see the only Algerian solution in negotiated peace, and right-wing conservatives or fascists such as Christian Democratic leader Georges Bidault or Gen. Jacques Massu to whom such negotiation is a capital crime and integration the only answer; the representatives of high finance and industry, and workers; early Gaullists of the 1940-44 resistance movement, and people such as Algiers newspaper magnate Alain de Sérigny, one of the sponsors of the May 13th "revolt," who in an interview in **Le Monde** just before the plebiscite said he was a Pétainist but was now "playing the card of General de Gaulle, and hoping not to be disappointed."

MIXED MOTIVES: Some people of the Center Left, like progressive Catholic writer Francois Mauriac, voted Yes on the idea that de Gaulle urgently wanted a Gaullist "left wing" to counter-balance the Algerian and Continental fascists. De Gaulle through his silence encouraged that legend, but through the same silence did nothing to discourage his fascist "right wing."

Above all, among the Yes-sayers, there were the disillusioned and the exasperated, those who wanted a change in government at all costs, and voted for de Gaulle in desperation, or in an act of religious faith. They wanted the general to solve all the country's problems, without asking themselves how or by what miracle.

Such a coalition of Yes voters, each expressing a different hope or conviction, is bound to go to pieces at the nearest crossroad of fundamental decisions.



Vicky in London Daily Mirror

"DON'T LOOK ROUND, BUT I THINK WE'RE BEING FOLLOWED."

The Gaullist propaganda could not, of course, have had the success it did, had it not met with a certain prevailing state of mind: At the bottom of the voters' lassitude and disgust with existing conditions was the profound discredit into which the Fourth Republic's political institutions and manners had fallen.

Neither could it have carried as far as it did if the Progressive Left had not been weakened by the Hungary complex and other factors, and if it had not perhaps been too sure of itself and its numerical strength.

TAKING STOCK: The Left will now have to reassess the situation and take these things into account:

- The defection of Socialist Party leader Guy Mollet, and the recent split in the French SP where he carried a majority with him to the Gaullist side, following the classic pattern of Russia's Kerensky and Germany's 1933 Social Democrats. Mollet is the man to whom de Gaulle most owes his victory.
- The continued absence of unity on the Left. Even after the SP split, the No-saying SP minority group rejected common CP-SP election meetings.
- The lateness, slowness and lack of impact of its election campaign that often remained ineffective because the future it held out to the No-voter seemed too much like the past to fire the imagination. This was as true of much of the CP campaign as it was of that of the Méndes-France-SP minority.

For the re-grouping of the Left and a new attempt toward unity of action, the few weeks between now and the November elections are of prime importance. The anti-Gaullist stand of the Teachers' Union and almost the entire University—one of the most hopeful things that have happened on the Left lately — may act as a catalyst to help achieve that unity at long last.

The November elections—more important in many ways than the plebiscite—will mark the parties' last opportunity in a long time to make a broad show of their existence; their role in the new House will be limited to a minimal legislative domain, and they can no longer furnish government members under the new Constitution.

As of now and for a period of four months, until the Fifth Republic's new institutions are set up, de Gaulle has practically unlimited powers. How is he likely to use them?

THE FUTURE: Economically speaking, the Government is controlled more tightly than ever by the big banks and trusts. Various favors to big industry—a new housing policy that turns much low cost public housing over to private companies with resulting rent increases; a "voluntary" food price cut that is already proving a failure—are hints of what is ahead.

Politically, the government may not feel it necessary to outlaw the CP, as Information Minister Jacques Soustelle intimated just before the plebiscite. A new electoral law, now under preparation, can conveniently curtail CP and other opposition groups' House representation. On another level, the government has already begun to try to create a political climate hostile to the Left.

On Algeria, the general's clearest statement, in one of his last election speeches, said that independence was out of the question and that the solution of the problem would take a long time.

The plebiscite has settled nothing. The time of basic, decisive choices is yet to come. And when it comes, then the Yes voters' honeymoon will break up and there will be talk of divorce.

The road may be long, but the de Gaulle government, following so many others, is setting out for another demonstration of the fact that you can't fool all of the people all of the time.

LOS ANGELES

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CORRECTION

The little gremlin that haunts all print shops, crept into ours last week and scrambled a line in the Imported Publications ad. The line should have read: "What does it mean to be both red and expert?" The "red" came out "read" in the ad. It referred to questions about China which are answered weekly in **Peking Review**. A one-year airmail sub. is $5 from Imported Publications, 4 W. 16th St., New York 11.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP

Statement Required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as Amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) Showing the Ownership, Management, and Circulation of NATIONAL GUARDIAN, published weekly at New York, N.Y., for Oct. 1, 1958.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are:

Publisher, Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. Fourth St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Editor, James Aronson, 197 E. Fourth St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Managing editor, none; Business Manager, John T. McManus, 197 E. Fourth St., N.Y. 9, N.Y.

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JOHN T. McMANUS,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of Sept., 1958.

FAY KAHN, Notary Public.
My comm. expires Mar. 30, 1959.

CALENDAR

CHICAGO

PETE SEEGER AT ORCHESTRA HALL Sat., Oct. 25 8:30 p.m. Choice seats from Chi. Coun. of Amer.-Sov. Friendship, Suite 1102, 32 W. Randolph, AN 3-1877 — $4.40, $3.30, $2.20.

STEVE TANDARIC TESTIMONIAL DINNER
Sat., Oct. 25 Milda Building, 3142 S. Halsted St. Entertainment including Mexican songs. Bring the family and help an Indiana unionist in his fight to remain in the only country he has known for 48 years. All proceeds go toward appealing Steve Tandaric's deportation to the Supreme Court. Dinner, $2. Social security and unemployed people, $1. Sponsored by Midwest Committee, 431 S. Dearborn St. WE 9-3552.

DETROIT

PETE SEEGER and SONNY TERRY
Sat., Oct. 18, 8:30 p.m.
United Dairy Workers Hall, 15840 Second Blvd. Tickets at $2.20 & $1.65 available at Grinnell's Downtown; Center Music Shops, Northland & Eastland; Cambridge Book Stall.

"A CRITICAL VIEW OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY." Hear: William Appleman Williams, University of Wisconsin; and Max Mark, Wayne State University. Fri., Oct. 24, 8 p.m., McGregor Memorial Center, Wayne State University, corner Second Blvd. and W. Ferry. Auspices: Detroit Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

GUARDIAN'S BIG TEN JUBILEE marking the Guardian's 10th Anniversary. Sat., Nov. 8, 8:30 p.m., Embassy Auditorium, 9th & Grand. $1.25, tax included. For tickets, information, literature or to help, call Jack Fox at AN 8-7777, or Maury Mitchell at WE 2-3042.

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Sun., Oct. 12, 8 p.m.
THE SUNDAY FORUM PRESENTS LOUIS E. BURNHAM, of the National Guardian staff. "Little Rock—A First-Hand Report." — Registration taken for all classes in the Faculty of Social Science. **ADELPHI HALL**, 74 5 Av., $1.

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Mon. 8:30—"Economic Crisis" with **VICTOR PERLO**
Tues. 6:30—"Marxist Philosophy" with **HARRY K. WELLS**
Tues. 8:30—"Working-Class Leaders" with **GUEST LECTURERS**
Wed. 6:30—"National Liberation" with **GUEST LECTURERS**
Wed. 8.30— Marx's Capital' " with **MYER WEISE**
Thurs. 6:30—"Social Viey of Painting" with **SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN**
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MILITANT LABOR FORUM opens celebration of 30th **ANNIVERSARY** of founding of THE MILITANT with **a DINNER**, Sat., Oct. 18, 7 p.m., 116 University Place. Program at 8:30 p.m. Special feature: **FARRELL DOBBS**, national secretary, Socialist Workers Party, will report on his recent tour of Europe as correspondent for THE MILITANT. Reservations, write or phone, Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Pl., N.Y.C. 3, AL 5-7852. Cont. $1.50, — program only, $1.

SATURDAY NITE, OCT 11, — 8 p.m. DANCE & ENTERTAINMENT. Proceeds to send children to Wash., D.C., Sat., Oct. 25 on **MARCH FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS.** Help in the struggle for decent education for all children. Don. $1.50—300 W. 45 St.

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THE GALLERY

OUR NOMINATION FOR "BOSS OF THE YEAR" goes to Charlie McCullough, construction boss in Los Angeles. Last month, while checking a 20-foot-deep sewer trench, he was completely buried by a cave-in. After his crew dug him out, he scrambled to the surface, turned on the group around him and exclaimed: "All right you guys, don't stand around. Get back to work." . . . In Taiwan, Wang Meng-yun, Nationalist Chinese legislator, proposed a law prohibiting women under 35 from wearing brassieres because they make them look too sexy . . . Executives of the Admiral TV and Appliance Corp. are in favor of "constructive nagging" by salesmen's wives. They hand out diamond rings to the wives of salesmen who have pushed their husbands to exceed quotas . . . In Florida, Republicans are having trouble raising funds for their campaign. Businessmen they approach beg off on the excuse that they gave heavily to Democratic Senator Holland's primary campaign against Claude Pepper.

BANKERS WERE URGED TO MAKE PLANS to resume business after a nuclear attack by J. L. Robertson, member of the board of governors of the Federal Reserve System. He said: "Banks must be in a position to operate even after suffering serious personnel losses and physical damages." . . . A man in Haverhill, Mass., was given a six-month suspended sentence for possessing marijuana. It seems he used it as a spice in baking biscuits and also served it as a vegetable. . . . In Marlow Heights, Md., problems of semi-detached living got too much for Mr. and Mrs. Walter Johnson. They swore out a warrant against their neighbor as a "public nuisance" because he cooked food with exotic, but pungent, seasoning on the grill in his patio . . . The AFL-CIO United Steelworkers of America last week appropriated $20,000 to fight "Communist infiltration" of steel unions in India . . . Paul Robeson was to sing Oct. 12 at St. Paul's Cathedral in London. He is the only secular artist in memory to sing during a service. In addition, a collection was to be taken for Christian Action, a group fighting the treason trials in South Africa. The last collection for a secular cause taken in St. Paul's was during the Battle of Britain for the RAF Benevolent Fund.

WITCH DOCTOR

Canard Enchaine, Paris

IN WEST GERMANY Heinz Reinefarth has been elected to the Schleswig-Holstein State Parliament. During the war he was a high officer in the Hitler Elite Guard and general of police in Poland when the SS committed some of its worst atrocities. He was exposed earlier this year (Gallery 3/24/58) in a film in E. Germany made from Nazi newsreels . . . Customs men placed a 19% duty on four pieces of abstract sculpture by Spanish artist Jorge Oteiza imported by the Gres Gallery in Washington. Although art is usually admitted duty-free, J. Ross Prevost, customs appraiser at the Baltimore Port, argued: "We define sculptures, under the guidance of a Supreme Court decision, as representations of natural objects or objects in nature. Modern art sculptures that have metaphysical or abstract subjects, don't represent nature." Makes more sense than a lot of art critics we know.

CANON E. G. BURROUGH of the Church of England believes that many people in mental hospitals today are possessed of demons rather than diseases of the brain. . . . In Christ-church magistrate's court in Wellington, New Zealand, while a 14-year-old girl was giving evidence against three boys on a morals charge, there was a stir in the back of the room. A teacher ushered in a group of 20 from a local girl's school. The magistrate cleared the court, saying: "An example of modern education going a little too far." . . . Through the efforts of the Council for Advancement of Secondary Education, wth the cooperation of the Natl. Better Business Bureau, more than 1,000 high schools in the country will use a new textbook titled **American Capitalism—An Introduction for Young Citizens.** . . . Six Russian scientists in Chicago on a two-week exchange tour were barred last week by State Dept. order from visiting the Brookfield Zoo and attending a barbecue in their honor in suburban Des Plaines. The Department decreed that the scientists can visit no industrial plants nor leave the city limits. In defense of this position, Theodore Switz, U. of Chicago administrator, said: "We were suckers too long. We'd show the Russian visitors whatever they wanted to see, and then our guys over there wouldn't be permitted to see anything."

—**Robert E. Light**

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100 capsules, $3.25

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For undue stress or strain caused by worry or fatigue

EACH CAPSULE CONTAINS:

Thiamine Hcl. (Vit. B-1)	10 mgm.
Riboflavin (Vit. B-2)	10 mgm.
Niacinamide	100 mgm.
Calcium Pantothenate	20 mgm.
Pyridoxine Hcl.	2 mgm.
Folic Acid	1.5 mgm.
Ascorbic Acid (Vit. C)	300.0 mgm.
Vitamin B-12 (Oral Concentrate)	4.0 mcgm.
Menadione (Vitamin K. Analog)	2 mg.

100 capsules, $5.50

HEMATINIC ANTI-ANEMIA FORMULA

High in Iron, Liver & B-12

EACH CAPSULE CONTAINS:

Ferrous Sulphate Dried U S P (Equivalent to 57.5 mg. of iron)	4.4 gr.
Liver Dessicated N F (Undefatted)	200 mg.
Stomach Powder	100 mg.
Vitamin B-12 U S P	10 mcg.
Ascorbic Acid U S P	50 mg.
Folic Acid U S P	1 mg.

100 capsules, $4

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the SPECTATOR

'The Defiant Ones'

THE SOUTHERN SPECTACLE over school integration has brought into national discussion the issue of whether or not handfuls of Negro children shall sit beside white students in schools. But behind the headlines are more basic questions. Fundamentally what is at issue is full citizenship for Negroes and their integration into American life. For whites this poses the question: What is their stake in integration beyond moral arguments? From Hollywood comes a film that meets this question head on. It argues not only that the races must live together, but that they are bound by a chain that makes progress for one dependent on equal advance for the other.

The movie is **The Defiant Ones**, produced and directed by Stanley Kramer, currently showing in most Northern cities and due to be released soon in the South. It offers the ingenious plot of the escape of two convicts from a work gang in the South, bound to each other by four feet of iron chain. One is white, the other Negro. The story follows their harrowing adventures in attempting to outrace a posse and its bloodhounds and shows how in the process their relationship changes.

THE WHITE CONVICT, played by Tony Curtis, is Joker, jailed for armed robbery. He has worked on the line in an auto plant and parked cars in a fancy hotel, but neither job brought him the "status" he craved. He argues that his mistake was being a small crook: only the big ones succeed. He vows to become "Charlie Potatoes," the guy with the dough who says "thank you" to no man.

Sidney Poitier plays Cullen, the Negro prisoner who talked back to and then assaulted a white man who came to his farm to collect on a bank note. For him too the search is for fulfillment—for no more of "taking it easy" when he is degraded. Although they do not realize it, they are fighting for the same thing against the same villains.

Soon after their escape Joker calls Cullen "nigger" and the basic antagonism is established. But they are forced by the chain to put off "tangling" over the epithet. As they pass through their adventures they find themselves alternately dependent on each other to cross a rapids, climb a deep pit, scrounge for food and evade a lynch mob.

A METAMORPHOSIS takes place in both, but it is sharper in Joker. At first he rationalizes his racism. "That's the way things are and you can't change them. You are too sensitive. You can call me Hunkie, I don't mind," he tells Cullen. Later to a bloodthirsty mob he says: "You can't lynch me, I'm a white man," implying that what happens to his partner is something else again.

But as they go on, getting to know each other and sharing hardship the bond grows tighter.

Finally, free of the iron chain, Joker has a chance to escape at the price of betraying Cullen. He leans toward the temptation but recoils at the price. Cullen too is given an opportunity for freedom but gives it up because he cannot take his friend with him. They end triumphant because, although they have not escaped the posse, they have learned in which direction real freedom for both lies.

CAN WE FIND REAL FREEDOM ALONE?
The Defiant Ones *stresses our interdependence*

This is not a moral tale nor a psychological study. This is real drama—an action movie in which the acting is powerful, the photography beautiful, the direction crisp. If it is lacking, it is because of over-concentration on the central figures and theme. The rest of the characters are hazy. There is some attempt, which does not come off, to portray the by-play between members of the posse, particularly a fair-minded sheriff and a stiff-necked state trooper. Sex rears its head briefly, and not unpleasantly, in the form of a lonely widow who attaches herself to Joker. But for the most part all except the two main characters are one-dimensional.

But this is not a movie to quarrel with. It is a film to be seen. It has meaning for all, North and South, Negro and white. And it is for each of us to ponder: Can we escape the posse and find real freedom alone?

—**Robert E. Light**